

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 RABAT 03144 01 OF 02 081858Z

51

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 NEA-14 ISO-00 OMB-01 IO-14 SAM-01 INRE-00

SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03

SS-20 EA-11 EURE-00 EB-11 DRC-01 /148 W

----- 043933

O R 081802Z JUL 74

FM AMEMBASSY RABAT

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2468

INFO AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT

USINT ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 RABAT 3144

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR MO SP SS

SUBJ: SPANISH SAHARAN STATEMENT BY MOROCCAN PRIME MINISTER  
TO AMBASSADOR

REF: RABAT 3128

1. SUMMARY: PRIME MINISTER OSMAN CONVOKED AMBASSADOR  
JULY 8 TO DISCUSS SPANISH SAHARA. UK, USSR, FRENCH,  
AND PRC AMBASSADORS CONVOKED AT HALF HOUR INTERVALS IMMED-  
IATELY AFTER AMBASSADOR TO RECEIVE PRESENTATIONS SUBSEQUENTLY,  
ALL OTHER AMBASSADORS AND CHARGES, INCLUDING THE  
SPANISH CHARGE, WERE CALLED IN BY ACTING FOREIGN  
MINISTER TO HEAR STATEMENT OF MOROCCAN POSITION.  
OSMAN REVIEWED HISTORIC MOROCCAN CLAIM TO REGION AND  
CASTIGATED SPAIN FOR DELAYING TACTICS AND FOR  
PLAYING MOROCCO, ALGERIA AND MAURITANIA OFF AGAINST  
EACH OTHER. MOROCCANS WILLING HAVE REGIONS FATE  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 RABAT 03144 01 OF 02 081858Z

SETTLED BY PLEBISCITE PROVIDED SAHARAN REFUGEES

IN MOROCCO (20-25,000, OR 1/3 OF THE SAHARAN POPULATION, ACCORDING TO PRIME MINISTER) ALLOWED TO VOTE. SPAIN AWARE THIS WILLINGNESS BUT MADRID RESPONSE HAS BEEN DECISION TO PERMIT SPANISH ORGANIZED SAHARAN ASSEMBLY GREATER AUTONOMY. THIS, IN PRIME MINISTER'S VIEW, "TRANSPARENT MANEUVER" TO PRESERVE SPANISH RULE IN ANOTHER FORM, AND AS SUCH TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO MOROCCANS. THUS KING'S LETTER TO FRANCO (REFTEL). PRIME MINISTER ASKED U.S. TO USE ITS INFLUENCE TO ASSURE THAT SPAIN'S INEVITABLE DEPARTURE FROM AFRICA WOULD BE PEACEFUL. IN RESPONSE AMBASSADOR UNDERLINED TRADITIONAL U.S. VIEW THAT DISPUTES SHOULD BE SETTLED PEACEFULLY BETWEEN PARTIES CONCERNED. PRIME MINISTER HOPED THAT WISE AMERICAN COUNSELING MIGHT PREVAIL UPON SPAIN AND/OR THAT DIRECT MOROCCAN-SPANISH NEGOTIATIONS WOULD SOLVE THE PROBLEM. END SUMMARY

2. DURING "VICTORY PARADE" OF MOROCCAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE RETURNING FROM SYRIA (ATTENDED BY ENTIRE DIPLOMATIC CORPS AND IN KING'S PRESENCE) I WAS INFORMED THAT PRIME MINISTER OSMAN WISHED TO SEE ME JULY 8 AT 10:00 A.M. BEGINNING AT 10:30 A.M. THAT DAY AMBASSADORS OF USSR, UK, FRANCE, AND CHARGE OF PRC WERE ALSO CONVOKED AT HALF HOUR INTERVALS. IN VIEW OF INCREASED PACE OF PROPAGANDA REPORTING SPANISH SAHARA QUESTION AND ESPECIALLY IN HASSAN'S LETTER TO FRANCO (REFTEL) MADE PUBLIC JULY 6, SUBJECT OF THESE CONVOCATIONS WAS HARDLY IN DOUBT.

3. PRIME MINISTER'S PRESENTATION WAS ENTIRELY ORAL. HE SAID HE WISHED TO INFORM THE AMBASSADORS OF MOROCCO'S "GREAT" FRIENDS (THAT IS, HE SAID, GREAT IN FRIENDSHIP AS WELL AS IN POWER) OF MOROCCO'S "CONCERN" REGARDING DEVELOPMENTS ON THE SAHARA QUESTION.

4. PRIME MINISTER TOUCHED BRIEFLY ON MOROCCO'S HISTORIC CLAIM TO AREA "NOW OCCUPIED BY SPAIN" AND EMPHASIZED MOROCCO'S POSITION THAT THE SPANISH

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 RABAT 03144 01 OF 02 081858Z

SAHARA REGION CONSTITUTED AN INTEGRAL PART OF MOROCCO. WHEN MOROCCO WAS DIVIDED INTO ZONES BY EUROPEAN POWERS, THE SAHARA CAME UNDER SPANISH RULE BUT THIS HAD NO MORE LASTING VALIDITY THAN SPANISH AND FRENCH RULE OVER OTHER PARTS OF THE MOROCCAN TERRITORY. WHEN MOROCCO REGAINED HER INDEPENDENCE THE QUESTION WAS REPEATEDLY BROUGHT UP WITH SPAIN WHICH TEMPORIZED AND KEPT THE AREA TO THIS DAY.

5. MOROCCO CANNOT ALLOW HER CLAIM TO THE SAHARA REGION TO BE DIMINISHED, THE PRIME MINISTER SAID. HOWEVER, IN THE SPIRIT OF OUR TIMES, MOROCCO HAS ACCEPTED THE POSSIBILITY OF A REFERENDUM PROVIDED THAT THE SAHARAN REFUGEES PRESENTLY RESIDING IN MOROCCO WOULD BE ALLOWED TO VOTE. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION THE PRIME MINISTER GAVE THEIR NUMBERS AS 20-25,000 AND ADDED THAT THIS CORRESPONDED TO ABOUT 1/3 OF THE ENTIRE POPULATION OF THE SPANISH SAHARA.

6. SPAIN IS WELL AWARE OF MOROCCAN WILLINGNESS TO ACT IN THIS FASHION AND ALSO OF THE VARIOUS UN RESOLUTIONS BUT HAS THUS FAR BEEN UNWILLING TO ACT IN A POSITIVE MANNER. NOW THE GOM HAS RECEIVED INFORMATION OF A FURTHER SPANISH MANEUVER GIVING SOME SORT OF AUTONOMY TO THE SPANISH-ORGANIZED ASSEMBLY IN THE SAHARAN TERRITORY. THE PRIME MINISTER CLASSIFIED THIS SPANISH ACTION AS A "TRANSPARENT MANEUVER". THE ASSEMBLY WAS A PUBLIC BODY ENTIRELY ARTIFICIAL IN NATURE. IN VIEW OF THE UNDEREDUCATED AND NOMADIC NATURE OF THE POPULATION, ITS SMALL NUMBER, AND ITS UNCERTAIN TERRITORIAL RESIDENCE, REAL INDEPENDENCE WAS HARDLY FEASIBLE. HENCE, "AUTONOMY" GRANTED SUCH AN ASSEMBLY WOULD MERELY MEAN SPANISH RULE IN ANOTHER FORM. HOW CAN SPAIN JUSTIFY SUCH A POLICY?

7. AS I MUST HAVE NOTICED, THE PRIME MINISTER SAID, MOROCCANS OF ALL WALKS OF LIFE ARE UNITED ON THIS QUESTION AND SENSITIVE TOWARDS ITS DEVELOPMENT. THERE IS GENERAL FEAR THAT MOROCCAN-SPANISH

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 RABAT 03144 01 OF 02 081858Z

RELATIONS COULD DETERIORATE IN LIGHT OF THIS LATEST SPANISH MOVE. HENCE KING HASSAN'S LETTER TO GENERAL-  
ISSIMO FRANCO. WERE SPAIN TO GRANT "AUTONOMY" TO THE ASSEMBLY, TROUBLE WOULD CERTAINLY RESULT.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 RABAT 03144 02 OF 02 081905Z

51

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 NEA-14 ISO-00 OMB-01 IO-14 SAM-01 INRE-00

SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03

SS-20 EA-11 EURE-00 EB-11 DRC-01 /148 W

----- 044031

O R 081802Z JUL 74

FM AMEMBASSY RABAT

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2469

INFO AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT

USINT ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 RABAT 3144

8. AS THE USG HAS SHOWN ITS INTEREST IN, AND WILLINGNESS TO WORK FOR PEACE IN THE AREA, THE PRIME MINISTER WISHED TO EXPLAIN MOROCCO'S POSITION TO US. HE HAD ALSO EXPLAINED IT TO SPAIN. AFTER THE RECENT EVENTS IN PORTUGAL THERE WAS LITTLE DOUBT IN HIS MIND THAT SPAIN WOULD SOONER OR LATER HAVE TO LEAVE AFRICA. HE HOPED THEREFORE THAT THE USG WOULD USE ITS INFLUENCE IN ORDER THAT SPAIN'S DEPARTURE FROM THE REGION WOULD TAKE PLACE IN A WAY THAT WOULD NOT TROUBLE THE PEACE OF THE AREA. SPAIN HAS HINTED AT HER WILLINGNESS TO LEAVE "SOMEDAY" BUT HAS CLEVERLY PLAYED MOROCCO, MAURITANIA, AND ALGERIA OFF AGAINST EACH OTHER IN ORDER TO RETAIN HER HOLD ON THE SAHARA.

9. IN MY RESPONSE I CONFINED MYSELF TO UNDERLINING THE TRADITIONAL AMERICAN POSITION IN FAVOR OF THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES BETWEEN THE PARTIES  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 RABAT 03144 02 OF 02 081905Z

CONCERNED AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THIS AGAIN WOULD BE THE CASE. I THEN ASKED THE PRIME MINISTER WHETHER THE FACT OF HIS CALLING IN THE AMBASSADORS OF THE FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE UN SECURITY

COUNCIL HAD SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE SUCH AS FOR INSTANCE POSSIBLE CONTEMPLATED UN ACTION. THE PRIME MINISTER REPLIED THAT THIS WAS NOT THE CASE. ALL COUNTRIES WOULD EVENTUALLY BE INFORMED BUT HE WAS FIRST CALLING ON THE GREAT POWERS. EVENUTALLY THE QUESTION WOULD NO DOUBT BE RAISED IN THE UN (THE IMPLICATION WAS THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY) BUT NO IMMEDIATE SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION WAS CONTEMPLATED.

10. THE PRIME MINISTER FURTHER SAID THAT HE AGREED FULLY THAT THE QUESTION SHOULD BE SOLVED BY NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES CONCERNED AND EXPRESSED HIS GOVERNMENT'S ENTIRE WILLINGNESS TO DO SO. GOM IS READY TO HONOR ALL ITS PRESENT AND FUTURE COMMITMENTS. AS FAR AS SPANISH INTERESTS IN PHOSPHATE OR OTHER RAW MATERIALS OF THE SAHARA REGION WERE CONCERNED, SURELY MODERN TIMES HAVE SHOWN OTHER WAYS TO SAFEGUARD THOSE THAN TERRITORIAL CONTROL. MOROCCO IS READY TO DISCUSS SPANISH INTEREST IN THESE RAW MATERIALS WITH AN OPEN MIND. HOWEVER, WHAT MOROCCO COULD NOT ACCEPT WAS "PHANTOM STATE" RUN BY PUPPETS WHOSE STRINGS WOULD BE PULLED IN MADRID. ONE OF THE THINGS HE SAID HE FEARED WAS THAT IN THE INTERNAL SPANISH TUG OF WAR BETWEEN DIVERGENT ELEMENTS WITHIN SPANISH GOVERNMENT. SOME "HARD-LINERS" MIGHT TAKE SOME IRREVOCABLE ACTION, POSSIBLY FOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL REASONS, WHICH COULD TROUBLE THE SITUATION. PRIME MINISTER, SAW TWO POSSIBILITIES FOR FUTURE: FIRST, "THAT THE WISE COUNSEL OF THE UNITED STATES MIGHT PREVAIL UPON SPAIN" AND SECOND, "THAT THERE WOULD BE FRUITFUL DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN SPAIN AND MOROCCO TENDING TO SOLVE THE QUESTION. HE WOULD OF COURSE BY FAR PREFER THE SECOND SOLUTION. I SAID I WOULD ALSO. PRIME MINISTER REITERATED HIS VIEW THAT GOM IS TAKING A REASONABLE POSITION IN REGION. KING'S  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 RABAT 03144 02 OF 02 081905Z

DECISION TO RECOGNIZE MAURITANIA WHICH THE PRIME MINISTER CALLED "AUDACIOUS", WAS PROOF OF MOROCCAN FLEXIBILITY.

10. I ASKED THE PRIME MINISTER FOR HIS UNDERSTANDING OF THE POSITIONS TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF MAURITANIA AND ALGERIA. HE REPLIED THAT "OFFICIALLY" MAURITANIA CLAIMED THE SPANISH SAHARA THE SAME WAY THAT MOROCCO DID. HOWEVER, IN VIEW OF THE RECENT CREATION OF MAURITANIA HE SAID HE CONSIDERED THIS CLAIM "WITHOUT FOUNDATION". HE ADDED: "PERHAPS

MAURITANIA DOES NOT WISH TO HAVE A COMMON FRONTIER WITH MOROCCO". MAURITANIA, HE THOUGHT, SHOULD CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY FOR MUCH WIDER COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO STATES IF THEY HAD A COMMON BORDER.

11. AS TO ALGERIA'S "OFFICIAL" POSITION, PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT ALGERIANS HAD NEVER RAISED AN OFFICIAL CLAIM TO THE TERRITORY BUT HAD IN ALL DISPUTES AND DISCUSSIONS IN THE UN AND ELSEWHERE CHARACTERIZED THEMSELVES AS "AN INTERESTED PARTY". UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES THIS POSITION NOT UNREASONABLE. OF COURSE ONE COULD NOT EXCLUDE A POSSIBLE HOPE BY ALGERIA TO HAVE ACCESS DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, TO THE ATLANTIC OCEAN. HOWEVER THIS HAS NEVER BEEN STATED OFFICIALLY BY ALGERIA.

12. IN CONCLUDING THIS EXCHANGE I REITERATED MY HOPE FOR A SETTLEMENT OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PARTIES CONCERNED.

13. IN LATER PART OF MORNING ALL OTHER AMBASSADORS AND CHARGES (INCLUDING SPANISH CHARGE) WERE CALLED EN BLOC TO FOREIGN MINISTRY. ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER BAHNINI READ THEM A STATEMENT IN ARABIC WHICH HE THEN SUMMARIZED IN FRENCH. AMBASSADORS ASKED FOR COPY OF STATEMENT IN FRENCH AND/OR ARABIC WHICH WAS PROMISED FOR THIS EVENING.

14. ANALYSIS FOLLOWS.  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 RABAT 03144 02 OF 02 081905Z

NEUMANN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** FOREIGN RELATIONS, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS, DIPLOMATIC PROTESTS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, TERRITORIAL CLAIMS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 08 JUL 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** shawdg  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1974RABAT03144  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D740181-0066  
**From:** RABAT  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1974/newtext/t19740768/aaaacghf.tel  
**Line Count:** 314  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 6  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** RABAT 3128  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** shawdg  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 22 APR 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <22 APR 2002 by shawdg>; APPROVED <25 FEB 2003 by shawdg>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** SPANISH SAHARAN STATEMENT BY MOROCCAN PRIME MINISTER TO AMBASSADOR  
**TAGS:** PFOR, MO, SP, SS  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005